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AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

AND THE

COLONY AT LIBERIA.

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1832.

# MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE first Annual Meeting of this Society, was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Thursday evening, the 26th of January, 1832. In the absence of the President, the chair was taken by the Hon. WILLIAM B. CALHOUN, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Howard Malcom, one of the chaplains of the House. The report of the Managers was read by the Rev. E. S. Gannett, of Boston. The receipts of the Society, during the year, amounted to nearly \$2,000. The meeting was addressed by William Ladd, Esq. of Minot, Maine, Thomas A. Greene, Esq. of New Bedford, George S. Bulfinch, and Rev. E. S. Gannett, of Boston.

The following officers were elected.

## OFFICERS OF THE MASS. COLONIZATION SOCIETY, FOR 1832.

HON. SAMUEL LATHROP, PRESIDENT.

### VICE PRESIDENTS.

Rt. Rev. ALEXANDER V. GRISWOLD,	THEODORE SEDGWICK, Esq.
Hon. HENRY A. S. DEARBORN,	Hon. BENJAMIN F. VARNUM,
Hon. WILLIAM B. CALHOUN,	Hon. JOHN A. PARKER,
Hon. ISAAC C. BATES,	Hon. STEPHEN C. PHILLIPS,
Hon. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT,	Hon. JAMES H. DUNCAN.
Rev. SAMUEL OSGOOD,	

JEROME V. C. SMITH, M. D. *Secretary, Boston.*

ISAAC MANSFIELD, Esq. *Treasurer, Boston.*

### BOARD OF MANAGERS.

Rev. EBENEZER BURGESS, <i>Dedham.</i>	Prof SAM'L M. WORCESTER, <i>Amherst Coll.</i>
JOSIAH ROBBINS, Esq. <i>Plymouth.</i>	GEORGE A. TUFTS, Esq. <i>Dudley.</i>
SAM'L. T. ARMSTRONG, Esq. <i>Boston.</i>	Dr. JOHN S. BUTLER, <i>Worcester.</i>
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Rev. HOWARD MALCOM, <i>Boston.</i>	PATRICK BOIES, Esq. <i>Granville.</i>
Rev. E. S. GANNETT, <i>Boston.</i>	IRA BARTON, Esq. <i>Oxford.</i>
ELIPHALET WILLIAMS, Esq. <i>Northampton.</i>	BELA B. EDWARDS, <i>Boston.</i>
Dea. MOSES GRANT, <i>Boston.</i>	WM. B. REYNOLDS, Esq. <i>Boston.</i>
Rev. CHARLES TRAIN, <i>Framingham.</i>	CHARLES STODDARD, <i>Boston.</i>
CHARLES TAPPAN, Esq. <i>Boston.</i>	Rev. WILLIAM HAGUE, <i>Boston.</i>
Hon. GEORGE HULL, <i>Sandisfield.</i>	

The resolution which follows, was unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, That the clergymen in this commonwealth, of all denominations, be requested to present the claims of the Society to their respective congregations, and take up collections for its funds, on the Fourth of July, or the Sabbath next preceding or succeeding that day.

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## AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

THIS work is published in Washington, monthly. Each number contains 32 octavo pages—Price, two dollars a year, payable in advance. Any person, who obtains five subscribers and remits \$10, receives a copy gratis. Every clergyman, who takes up a collection for the Society, will receive a copy gratis.

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## STATEMENT OF FACTS.

### *Organization of the Society.*

THE Society was organized at the city of Washington, in the winter of 1816. Previously to this period, nothing of importance had been done to colonize people of color.

### *Its object.*

"The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan of colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient."

### *Funds.*

The income of the Society has been gradually increasing since its formation, though it never has received assistance from the treasury of the general government. The amount of donations from 1821 to 1828, inclusive, was between \$82,000 and \$83,000. In 1829, \$20,295 61. In 1830, \$27,209 39. In 1831, more than \$32,000.

### *Resolutions of State Legislatures.*

Resolutions, approving the object of the Society have been passed in the Legislatures of the following States, viz. :—New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. And most of them have recommended the Society to the patronage of the National Government.

### *Views of distinguished men.*

A large number of men, of distinguished eminence, in various parts of the Union, have warmly espoused the cause of the Society. Among whom are Hon. Charles Carroll, Hon. William H. Crawford, Hon. Henry Clay, Jeremiah Day, D. D., Chief Justice Marshall, Hon. Richard Rush, Rt. Rev. Bishop White, Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, Hon. John Cotton Smith, Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. David L. Morrill, and Hon. Elijah Paine, of Vermont. Gen. Lafayette is a warm friend, and is one of its Vice Presidents.

### *Auxiliary Societies.*

Auxiliary Societies have been organized in the following States, viz. :—Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New

York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. There are numerous other societies, of less extent.

### *Establishment and progress of the Colony.*

Soon after the formation of the American Colonization Society, two agents, Mr. Burgess and Samuel J. Mills, were sent to Africa to make provision for the settlement of a colony. The island of Sherbro, situated about 100 miles south of Sierra Leone, was selected as the place. President Monroe, being then Chief Magistrate of the United States, was favorably disposed towards the project, and lent his influence to advance its interests. Two agents were sent by the national government to co-operate with the agents of the Society. In February, 1820, the first colonists, eighty-eight in number, sailed for Africa. The expedition was an unfortunate one. In March, 1821, twenty-eight embarked for the same place. It was now decided that Sherbro was unfavorable, from its situation, to the prosperity of the colony, and Montserado, situated about 200 miles farther south, was purchased. In August, 1822, Mr. Ashmun arrived at the colony with 35 emigrants. There had been, several times, some little altercation between the colonists and the natives, though nothing that had demanded much attention. Mr. Ashmun thought he could discover signs of a plot to destroy the new settlers. He therefore considered it wise to make provision against an assault. Scarcely had the colonists put themselves in a defensive position, when they were attacked by about 800 natives, who were easily repulsed. Two weeks after, they were again attacked by double the former number. The colonists succeeded in maintaining their position and the natives were entirely defeated. Probably nothing has given the natives so favorable an impression in regard to their new neighbors, as this occurrence. Since that time, the colonists have been but little disturbed.

In 1824, the settlement was named Liberia, and the town at the cape, Monrovia; the latter as an acknowledgement of benefits received from the President of the United States. In 1825, several agriculturists arrived, who expressed a strong desire to settle upon plantations, rather than in the town. For this purpose, a fertile tract of land was purchased, about twenty miles in length and from three to six in breadth, lying on St. Paul's River. Several additions have since been made. Emigrants have from time to time been added to the colony, so that notwithstanding the numerous obstacles against which the Society has been obliged to contend, 2,000 have, by their own consent, been transported to Liberia.

### *Fertility of the Soil.*

The country called Liberia, extends along the coast one hundred and fifty miles, and reaches twenty or thirty miles into the interior. It is watered by several rivers, some of which are of considerable size. The soil is *extremely fertile*, and abounds in all the productions of tropical climates.\* Its hills and plains are covered with perpetual verdure. It would be difficult to find in any country, a region more pro-

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\* See an excellent article respecting Liberia in the *Revue Encyclopedique*, of Paris.

ductive, a soil more fertile. The natives, with very few of the implements of husbandry, without skill, and with but little labor, raise more grain and vegetables than they can consume, and often more than they can sell.

The land on the rivers is of the very best quality, being a rich, light alluvion, equal, in every respect, to the best lands on the southern rivers of the United States.

Captain Woodside, after his return from Africa, thus speaks of Caldwell, situated seven miles north of the outlet of Montserado; "The beauty of its situation, *the fertility of its soil*, and the air of comfort and happiness which reigns throughout, will remain, I hope, an everlasting evidence of the unceasing exertions of our departed friend, Ashmun."

### *Agriculture of the Colony.*

The colonists have not, as yet, paid much attention to agriculture. Many of the emigrants cannot wait for the slow returns of agricultural industry, but prefer mercantile speculations. The advantages, however, of the older merchants in trade, will diminish the chances of success to the new-comers, and thus they will be led to turn their attention to agriculture. The settlement of Caldwell is more of an agricultural establishment than the other towns, and is in a very flourishing condition. Its farmers hold agricultural meetings to discuss the best methods of tilling.

The colonists have all the domestic animals of this country, and raise, in great abundance, many varieties of fruits and vegetables. They are turning their attention to the cultivation of coffee. This article, it is believed, will prove a great source of wealth to the colony. The labor and expense of cultivation is small; they have only to clear away the forest trees, and the plantations are ready to their hands. There are two descriptions of this plant indigenous; one is a shrub, the same, probably, as that of Mocha, but yielding a superior flavor. The other is much larger, and often attains the height of forty feet.

### *Commercial advantages.*

By the position of the colony great commercial advantages are enjoyed. It is the central point in a long extent of sea-coast, and relations of trade may be established between it and the interior. Millsburg, situated twenty-five miles north east of Monrovia, having several navigable streams, may easily be made the medium of commerce between the interior towns and the coast. The harbor of Monrovia is formed by the mouth of the river Montserado, and is convenient for vessels of moderate size.

The commerce of the colony is increasing rapidly. The amount for 1831, greatly exceeded that of any previous year. During this year, forty-six vessels entered the port of Monrovia, twenty-one of which were from America. The articles of export are rice, palm oil, ivory, gold, shells, dye-wood, &c. The amount of exports the last year was \$88,911. Some of the colonists own small vessels, which are employed in the carrying trade between Cape Montserado, and the factories along the shore, under the direction of the government. Some individuals in the colony have already acquired property to the amount of

several thousand dollars. Francis Devany, an emancipated slave, who went out to the colony eight years ago, testified before a committee of Congress, in 1830, that in seven years he had accumulated property to the amount of \$20,000.

Among the numerous arrivals at Monrovia, mentioned in the *Liberia Herald* for 1831, is a vessel from *France, consigned to Devany*. The trade with the nations of the interior is, of all others, the most profitable. The large profits, which it yields, may be seen by reference to the travels of Laing, Clapperton, and Bowditch. In the article of salt, for instance, which may be made in great abundance by evaporation all along the coast, the colonists enjoy a very profitable trade. Bartering in this article, they receive in exchange gold dust, ivory, dye-wood, &c. at the rate of two dollars per quart.

The nett profits on the two articles, wood and ivory, which passed through the hands of the colonists in the year 1826, was more than \$30,000.

### *Climate.*

The charge of unhealthiness, as it respects men of color, made against the climate of Liberia, cannot be sustained by facts. Reason and experience are both opposed to it. Africa is the birth place of the black man, and to which his constitution is suited. It is *physically* his home. There he is lord of the soil, and the white man becomes the "*lusus naturæ*."

The result of a most careful investigation, is, *that for people of color, the climate is decidedly salubrious*. The existence now of two thousand persons in the colony, is conclusive evidence on this point. To them the climate is as healthy as the southern portions of the United States. The western coast of Africa is not desolated by the plague as Turkey, nor by malaria as the Antilles.

"The natives on that part of the coast are remarkably healthy. *So are the acclimated emigrants*. Many of the deaths which have occurred in the colony are to be attributed, not so much to the influence of climate, as to irregularity in regard to diet and exposure, and the want of proper medical aid." Such were the causes for the great mortality among those who went out in the *Carolina*. But effective measures were taken to prevent the like occurrence; and of the eighty-five persons who went out soon afterwards, only two small children died. When once acclimated, Africa proves a more congenial climate to the man of color than any portion of the United States. There he enjoys a greater immunity from disease.

It was to be expected, that during the early years of the colony, many deaths would occur for want of suitable houses; on account of the fatigue and danger to which they were necessarily exposed; and more particularly in consequence of their irregular modes of life, which were at that time unavoidable. Those days, however, are past.

But the mortality at Liberia is small, when compared with the loss of life in the early settlement of this country. The colony which settled at Jamestown was, at one time, reduced from *five hundred*, to *sixty persons*, by disease, famine, and war. In twelve years, after £80,000 of the public stock had been expended, and the Virginia

Company were left £5,000 in debt, only six hundred souls remained in the colony. Out of the fifteen hundred persons, who came with John Winthrop to Boston in 1630, *two hundred died in six months*. In 1634, after £150,000 had been expended, and more than nine thousand persons had been sent out from England to the colony, only eighteen hundred remained.

No mortality like this can be shown in the history of Liberia. The blacks from the slave-holding States have nothing to fear in removing to Africa. Many who have gone out from the Carolinas and Georgia, have become acclimated without the slightest attack of fever.

To the white man the climate seems unhealthy. So is almost every tropical region. But what, if it be so? Thousands of lives are sacrificed at New Orleans, Havana, and Calcutta every year by men in pursuit of *gain*; and shall the philanthropist fear to encounter the inclemencies of a tropical climate in order to enlighten and save an ignorant, degraded brother of the human family? So thought not Mills and Ashmun.

### *Government.*

A system of government, in which the colonists take part, as far as prudence will admit, has been established, and is now in full and successful operation. The supreme government is yet in the hands of the society. The colonial agent is recognized as governor. Great care is taken by the agent to habituate the colonists to republican forms, and to the real spirit of liberty. The election of their magistrates takes place annually. A court of justice has been established, composed of the agent, and two judges chosen from among the colonists. This court exercises jurisdiction over the whole colony. It assembles monthly at Monrovia. The crimes usually brought before it, are thefts committed most commonly by the natives admitted within the colonial jurisdiction. *No crime of a capital nature has as yet been committed in the colony.* The trials are by jury, and are decided with all possible formality. The political and civil legislation of Liberia is embraced in three documents.

1. The constitution. This grants them rights and privileges, as in the United States. The fifth article of which forbids all slavery in the colony. The sixth declares the common law of the United States to be that of the colony.

2. The forms of civil government. By the thirteenth article of which, censors are appointed to watch over the public morals, to report the idle and the vagabond, and to bring to legal investigation all that may tend to disturb the peace, or injure the prosperity of the colony.

3. A code of procedures and punishments. This has been extracted principally from American digests. Experience has fully shown, that these laws are sufficient to preserve the public order, and secure the prosperity of the colony.

Of this government, the colonists in an address to their brethren in America thus speak: "Our laws are altogether our own: they grow out of our circumstances, are formed for our exclusive benefit, and are administered either by officers of our own appointment, or by such as possess our confidence. We have all that is meant by liberty of con-

science; the time and mode of worshipping God, as prescribed in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following. 'In Monrovia, you behold,' says the editor of the *Liberia Herald*, 'colored men exercising all the duties of officers; many fulfilling their important trusts with much dignity. We have a republic in miniature.' "

### *Literary advantages.*

The subject of education has ever been one of primary importance with the Colonization Society, and its interests have been promoted as far as circumstances would permit. In 1827, there were six schools in the colony. The education of children has been considerably retarded for want of suitable teachers—a difficulty which has, in part, been removed. In 1830, the Board of Managers determined to establish permanent schools in the towns of Monrovia, Caldwell, and Millsburg. They adopted a thorough system of instruction, which is now in successful operation. There are also two female schools, one of which was established by the liberality of a lady of Philadelphia, who sent out the necessary books and a teacher. A law was passed the last year in the colony, taxing the real estate of the colonists one half per cent.; which tax, together with the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, and duties on spirituous liquors, is to be devoted to the interests of education.

A public library has been established at Monrovia, and a journal (the *Liberia Herald*) is published by Mr. Russwurm, one of the colonists, and a graduate of Bowdoin college. It has 800 subscribers. The commander of the United States' ship *Java*, thus speaks on the subject of education: "I was pleased to observe that the colonists were impressed with the vast importance of a proper education, not only of their own children, but of the children of the natives; and that to this they looked confidently, as the means of accomplishing their high object, the civilization of their benighted brothers of Africa."

### *Religious state of the Colony.*

Much is done to promote the cause of religion in the colony. There are three churches, a Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian. Divine service is regularly attended in them on the Sabbath, and on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. In these societies Sabbath schools have been established, to which all their most promising young men have attached themselves, either as teachers or scholars. Bibles and tracts have been sent to the colony for a Sabbath school library. A gentleman in Baltimore, the last year, gave \$200 for this specific object. Several young men of color in the United States are preparing to go to Liberia as ministers of the gospel.

Captain Abels, who visited the colony in 1831, and who spent 13 days at Monrovia, says: "My expectations were more than realized. I saw no intemperance, nor did I hear a profane word uttered by any one. Being a minister of the gospel, I preached both in the Methodist and Baptist churches, to full and attentive congregations of from four to five hundred persons each. I know of no place where the Sabbath seems to me more respected than in Monrovia." The colonists are



remarkable for their morality and religious feeling. One who had resided seven years in the colony, said, that during all that time he had seen but one fight, and that was provoked by a person from Sierra Leone. To prevent intemperance, they require \$300 for a license to sell ardent spirits. Many of the settlers are engaged in acquiring religious instruction.

The little band at Liberia, who are spreading over the wilderness around them an aspect of beauty, are in every respect a missionary station. Many of the neighboring tribes have already put themselves under the protection of the colony, and are anxiously desirous to receive from them religious instruction. "We have here," says the colonial agent, "among our re-captured Africans many who, on their arrival here, were scarcely a remove from the native tribes around us, in point of civilization, but who are at present as pious and devoted servants of Christ as you will find in any community. Their walk and conversation afford an example worthy of imitation. They have a house for public worship, and Sabbath schools, which are well attended. Their church is regularly supplied every Sabbath by some one of our clergy. As to the morals of the colonists, I consider them much better than those of the people in the United States; that is, you may take an equal number of inhabitants from any section of the Union, and you will find more drunkards, more profane swearers and Sabbath breakers, than in Liberia. Indeed, I know of no place where things are conducted more quietly and orderly. The Sabbath is more strictly observed than I ever saw it in any part of the United States." The Rev. Mr. Skinner (the Baptist missionary, who went out to the colony a few years since, but who, like other devoted servants of Christ in the same field, has fallen) said, "I was surprised to find every thing conducted in so orderly a manner, and to see the Sabbath so strictly observed. Thus we see that light is breaking in upon benighted Africa. May it be like the morning light, which shineth brighter and brighter until the perfect day!"

#### *Means of Defence.*

The colonists have but little to fear from the native tribes around them. These they have completely intimidated, so that they have no fears of an incursion from any or all of them. The exposure of the colony is on the sea-shore. Their means of defence here are, a fortification, and several small vessels, six volunteer companies of 500 men, which compose the national militia, twenty field pieces, and 1,000 muskets. They have reason to fear an attack from the pirates, those enemies of human happiness, who frequent the western coast of Africa to kidnap the blacks. These freebooters have sworn eternal enmity against the colony. And it is feared, should two or three such vessels, well armed, attack Monrovia, they might do very great injury, notwithstanding all the means of defence which the colony could bring against them.

#### *Progress of the Society and Colony during 1831.*

In no one year has the society gained such important accessions of strength as during the past. The insurrectionary movements among the slaves at the south, have opened the eyes of many on this subject. Men of influence and distinction have laid aside their opposition, and

warmly espoused the cause of the Colonization Society. The State of Maryland has set a most benevolent example to her sister States, in granting from her State treasury \$200,000 to enable the free blacks of that State to remove to Africa. It is truly a noble, patriotic act!

Up to October, 1831, the society had fitted out nineteen expeditions, and landed upon the shores of Africa 1,831 persons, including re-captured Africans, to all of whom a farm or town lot had been granted. Four towns have been established—New Georgia, Millsburg, Caldwell, and Monrovia, which are all in a flourishing condition. The colonists have now good and substantial houses, some of them handsome and spacious. In view of the efforts of the society, and the flourishing state of the colony, the venerable Thomas Clarkson, not long since, remarked to the society's agent in England, "that for himself he was free to confess, that, of all things which had been going on in our favor since 1787, when the abolition of the slave trade was first seriously proposed, that which was going on in America was the most important." To the same individual, Wilberforce, no less benevolent, said, "you have gladdened my heart by convincing me, that sanguine as had been my hopes of the objects to be accomplished by your institution, all my anticipations have been scanty and cold compared with the reality."

The last accounts from the colony represent the aspect of things there, the health, harmony, order, industry, and general prosperity of the settlers, in a light peculiarly pleasing to every friend of the injured African. During the past year, several distinguished gentlemen have visited Liberia. Captain Kennedy thus speaks of the colony, "With impressions unfavorable to the scheme of the Colonization Society, I commenced my inquiries. I sought out the most shrewd and intelligent of the colonists, and by long and wary conversations, endeavored to elicit from them any dissatisfaction with their situation (if such existed), or any latent desire to return to America. Neither of these did I observe. But, on the contrary, I could perceive that they considered that they had *started into a new existence*—that disencumbered of the mortifying relations in which they formerly stood in society, they felt themselves proud in their attitude.

"Many of the settlers appear to be rapidly acquiring property; and I have no doubt they are doing better for themselves and for their children, in Liberia, than they could do in any other part of the world."

The colony now consists of 2,000 persons. It is provided with two able physicians and a full supply of medicine. A hospital has been erected during the past year, intended particularly for sick emigrants. The progress of improvement is rapid. The elements of wealth and greatness, namely, commerce, agriculture, and a Christian population, are fully enjoyed.

"Nothing strikes me," says Dr. Mecklin, "as more remarkable, than the great superiority in intelligence, manners, conversation, dress, and general appearance in every respect, of the people over their brethren in America. The prospects of the colony were never brighter than at present. (1831.) The improvements in agriculture, commerce, buildings, &c. during my short visit to the United States, have been astonishingly great. In Monrovia, upwards of twenty-five substantial stone and frame dwelling-houses have been erected within the short space of

five months. Indeed, the spirit of improvement has gone abroad in the colony, and the people seem awake to the importance of more fully developing the resources of the country. Our influence over the native tribes in our vicinity is rapidly increasing. Several tribes at their urgent request have been admitted under our protection. This I find the most effectual way of civilizing them; associating with the colonists, they insensibly adopt our manners, and thus, from a state of paganism, they become enlightened Christians."

How forcibly do these facts teach us that there is nothing in the physical, or moral nature of the African, which condemns him to a state of ignorance and degradation. Extraneous causes press him to the earth. Light and liberty can, and do, under fair circumstances, raise him to the rank of a virtuous and intelligent being.

*Extension of Civilization and Christianity into the Interior.*

There is reason to believe, that nearly all the tribes in the neighborhood of the colony are disposed to place themselves under its protection. The natives esteem it no small privilege to be permitted to call themselves *Americans*. They frequently prefer to have their disputes settled by the civil courts of Monrovia, rather than by their own usages. Eight or ten of the chiefs of the towns on the north eastern branch of the Montserado river, lately united in a request that they might be received and treated as subjects of the colony, and that settlements might be made in their territory. It is the intention of the Board to comply with such requests wherever practicable. Thus the oppressed natives of Africa will find in the colony of Liberia, a power friendly and Christian, ready at all times to be exerted in defence of the helpless. Measures have been taken for exploring the interior, and also for ascertaining the comparative advantages of different points on the coast, for the founding of new settlements. The territory chosen as most favorable, and on which the Managers have directed that a settlement shall be forthwith commenced, is that of Grand Bassa, distant about 80 miles from Monrovia, intersected by the river St. Johns, of easy and safe access to vessels of 80 to 100 tons, fertile, salubrious, and abounding in camwood, rice, and cattle. The chiefs and head-men have recently sent a pressing invitation to the colonial agent to visit them, and to establish a settlement among them. The whole course of the Junk river has been examined, (this river is more than 50 miles long,) and it is found to afford many situations well suited for agriculturists. The whole region may soon be covered with cotton and coffee plantations. "The civilization of the interior of Africa," in the language of Mr. Edward Everett, "is a topic which has not received its share of consideration. Of this mighty continent, four times as large as Europe, one third part at least is within the direct reach of influences, from the west of Europe and America,—influences, which, for 300 years, have been employed through the agency of the slave-trade, to depress and barbarize it; to chain it down to the lowest point of social degradation. I trust these influences are now to be employed in repairing the wrongs, in healing the wounds, in gradually improving the condition of Africa. I trust that a great re-action is at hand. Can it be believed that this mighty region, most of it overflowing with tropical abundance, was created and destined for eternal barbarity?"

### *History of Slavery.*

It is generally agreed that as early as 1442, the Portuguese accepted some negroes from the Moors, as a ransom for Moorish captives. These were reduced to servitude, and their value rose so rapidly that in a few years upwards of thirty ships were fitted out for importing negroes. In 1502, the Spaniards began to employ African slaves in the mines of Hispaniola, the island now called St. Domingo, or Hayti; and in 1517, Charles V. of Spain, at the solicitation of a Roman Cardinal, (Las Casas,) granted his patent for the importation of *four thousand slaves annually* into Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola and Porto Rico. The first enslaved Africans were introduced into this country by the Dutch in 1620, and were landed and disposed of, (20 in number,) at Jamestown, the first settlement in Virginia. They were subsequently introduced in great numbers by the English, but not without the *serious remonstrance* of the colonists. They even proceeded so far as to present, in 1772, to George III. a petition, praying that the introduction of slaves might be discontinued. They speak in strong and decisive language: "We are encouraged to look up to the throne, and implore your majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature. The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, *hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity*, and under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the existence of your majesty's American dominions." Mr. Burke, in a speech on American conciliation, says, "her refusal to deal any longer in the inhuman traffic of human slaves, was one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain." And it is much for the credit of the framers of our Declaration of Independence, that among other grievances set forth in that memorable manifesto, it is declared that the king had violated our rights by "prompting our negroes to rise in arms against us—those very negroes, whom, by an inhuman use of his negative, he has *refused us permission to exclude by law.*" This generous feeling at length died away, and the ships of the north and south have vied together in the odious practice of importing slaves into the United States.

### *Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

As early as 1792, Sweden passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves into her borders after 1803. In 1807, the governments of Great Britain and the United States passed similar enactments, to take effect after March, 1808. But these were nearly a *dead letter*, until it was further declared, afterwards, that the Slave Trade is *piracy*, and that those proved to be engaged in it shall *suffer death*.

### *Slave Trade still carried on extensively and with great cruelty.*

In defiance of all laws enacted, it is estimated that not less than 50,000 Africans were, during the last year, (1831,) carried into foreign slavery. During the months of February and March of the same year, 2,000 were landed on the island of Cuba. Two English vessels, the Fair Rosamond and Black Joke, tenders of the Dryad frigate, cruising off the coast of Africa, captured *three* slave ships which had originally *eighteen hundred slaves on board*. The Fair Rosamond first captured a vessel with 106 Africans, and shortly after saw the Black Joke

in chase of two others: she joined the pursuit, but the vessels succeeding in getting into the Bonny river where they landed 600 slaves before the *pursuers* could take possession of them. They found on board only 200 Africans, but understood that the crew had thrown overboard 180, chained together, and four only out of the whole, were picked up and delivered from a watery grave.

"The slaves, male and female, are crowded into the *middle passage*," says Sir George Collier, who lately commanded a squadron on the coast of Africa, "so as not to give the power to move, and are linked one to another by the legs or neck, never to be unfettered while the voyage lasts, or till their iron shall have fretted the flesh almost to the bone; forced under a deck, as I have seen them, not *thirty inches in height*, breathing an atmosphere the most *putrid*, with little food and less water. In this *loathsome prison*, *thousands* die in the *ravings of despair*, and many when let out to breath the *balmy air*, rather than return to their dungeons, plunge themselves into the ocean to sleep among its pearls and corals."

*African Colonization the best check on the Slave Trade.*

The country now occupied by our colony on the coast of Africa, has been, until recently, a seat of this cursed traffic. At the present, no slave ships visit that coast, and the adjacent chiefs have given up the trade, some voluntarily, and others by compulsion. The colony at Sierra Leone has also put an end to the trade in that region, and cleared the coast for many miles of slave vessels. It is in a great measure owing to the co-operation of these colonies with our own government, and that of Great Britain, that the African slave trade has been so effectually checked. With all the former vigilance of the latter powers, without the *united efforts* of the former, little would have been accomplished, comparatively, in detecting the *robbers*, not only of *property*, but of *men*, women and helpless children.

*Colored population in the United States.*

According to the census of 1830, there were in

	<i>Free blacks.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>		<i>Free blacks.</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>
Maine	1,207		Georgia	2,483	217,470
New Hampshire	623		Alabama	1,541	117,294
Vermont	885		Mississippi	529	65,659
Massachusetts	7,006		Louisiana	16,753	109,631
Connecticut	8,004	23	Tennessee	4,513	142,382
Rhode Island	3,565	14	Kentucky	4,816	165,350
New York	43,080	46	Ohio	9,586	
New Jersey	18,397	2,246	Indiana	3,565	
Pennsylvania	37,990	386	Missouri	546	24,990
Delaware	15,829	3,305	Arkansas	138	4,578
Maryland	52,942	102,878	Michigan	253	27
Virginia	47,102	469,724	Floridas	840	15,590
North Carolina	19,575	246,462	Dist. of Columbia	6,163	6,060
South Carolina	7,915	315,665			

The whole number of colored people in 1830 were	<i>Free.</i> 319,476	<i>Slaves.</i> 2,010,572
The census of 1820 was	223,540	1,538,064

Making an increase in 10 years of	95,936	472,508
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The increase of the colored population during the last year (1831) was nearly 52,000.

*Condition of the free colored people in the United States.*

We may form some opinion of the condition of the free colored people in this country, from the reports of our state prisons. In Liberia, since the establishment of the colony, there has scarcely been a crime committed by one of the colonists, which in this land would have subjected him to confinement in the penitentiary; while in this country during the same period our prisons have been full of these unfortunate people. In 1826, the free colored people in Massachusetts comprised one seventy-fourth part of the entire population, and yet one-sixth part of the convicts. In Connecticut they were one thirty-fourth of the population, and yet furnished one-third of the convicts. In Vermont there were but 918, of whom 24 were in the penitentiary. In New York they composed one thirty-fifth of the entire population, and yet had one-fourth of all the convicts. In Pennsylvania they were as in Connecticut, but more than one-third of the convicts were from their ranks. In the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York, the entire colored population in 1823 was 54,000, and for the support of the convicts from this small population, these States, in ten years ending with 1833, have expended *eighty-two thousand nine hundred and thirty-four dollars*. In 1827, the returns from several prisons showed that while the number of white convicts was stationary, in some instances *decreasing*, that of the colored was *increasing*.

Throughout the non-slave-holding States, as a body, they are idle, ignorant and vicious. For this reason, Ohio, not long since, passed a law, compelling them to leave her territory, or to give security for their good behavior, which not one in fifty could do. These outcasts from human sympathy sought refuge in Canada, while that country in turn has petitioned Parliament to forbid their entering the British possessions.

In the non-slave-holding States, it is estimated that they do not compose more than *one-fortieth* of the entire population, and yet, it is said that about *one-sixth* of all their paupers and convicts are colored. The reason of all this is obvious. In these States there are from one to two hundred thousand persons, who are *nominally* free, but who have no interests in common with the community—at liberty to act, and yet have no motive for exertion. Instances of emancipation have not essentially benefitted the African, and probably never will, while he remains among us. In this country, public opinion does, and will, consign him to an inferiority, above which he can never rise.

Emancipation can never make the African, while he remains in this country, a *real free man*. Degradation must and will press him to the earth; no cheering, stimulating influence will he here feel, in any of the walks of life. If he go to Liberia, the scene will be changed: there he may rise—there he may and will, if he act correctly, feel the ennobling influence of public opinion urging him onward to high and manly exertion.

*Slavery a great national evil.*

Those who are conversant with the debates in the Virginia legislature on this subject the last winter, need no proof that slavery has been

a curse, at least to the States tolerating it. In them the spirit of industry and enterprize has been checked. Many of the young and active citizens have sought a more happy and congenial home in the "distant west." The enterprising men of New England, and of other countries, aware of the discredit cast upon white labor in slave States, have mingled with the tide which so rapidly flows into, and nourishes non-slaveholding States. Facts speak louder than words. The white population

Of Pennsylvania, in 1820, was 1,018,000, in 1830, 1,309,296, increase in 10 years, 290,322  
Of Virginia, in 1820, was 602,000, in 1830, 694,439, increase in 10 years, 92,438

making the ratio of increase *per cent.* in Pennsylvania to the same in Virginia, nearly as 9 to 5. To what, if not to slavery, shall we attribute this disproportioned increase of the white population in these two States? Something similar might be said of other slave States. These appalling facts have not escaped the vigilance of at least some of the guardians and legislators of our slave States. These and their kindred topics called forth, in the last Virginia legislature, efforts and feelings, which we believe will continue until the evil is wholly eradicated. The community in that State are awake on this momentous question. Among the memorials presented to the Legislature, we find one from the ladies of Fluvanna, which speaks in terms like these; "We cannot conceal from ourselves that an evil is among us, which threatens to outgrow the growth, and eclipse the brightness of our national blessings. A shadow deepens over the land, and casts its thickest gloom upon the sacred shrine of our domestic bliss, darkening over us as time advances. We reflect with gratitude that no error in the framers of our constitution, entailed this evil upon us. We drew that taint from the bosom that fostered us, which is gradually mingling with the vital principles of our national existence. It can no longer remain dormant and inert in the social system, but calls loudly for redress from the sages of our land. To their honor be it said, these sentiments will find a response in the breasts of thousands of Virginia's fair daughters." The same may be said of her sons, who so recently boldly discussed and defended the rights of suffering humanity. In the language of one of the speakers; "The spell has been broken, and the scales have fallen from our eyes. These open doors, those crowded galleries, and this attentive audience, prove to me that I am at liberty to speak any and every opinion which I entertain on this subject. For two hundred years the thoughts, words and actions of Virginians have been suppressed, and a solemn silence has closed the mouth and stifled investigation on this subject. The question of slavery is one which seems in all countries, and in all ages in which it has been tolerated, either directly or indirectly to have called to its aid a mystic sort of right, a superstitious veneration, that has deterred even the most intrepid mind from an investigation into the rights, and an exposure of the wrongs, on which it has been sustained."

Another speaker remarks; "Has slavery interfered with our means of enjoying life, liberty, property, happiness and safety? Look at Southampton. The answer is written in letters of blood, on the soil of that unhappy county." This is strong language, and especially in the ears of those who were acquainted with the insurrection alluded to. In

that cool-blooded butchery, fifty-five whites fell victims to the incensed negroes. The ring-leader, before his execution, related the circumstances of an assault upon a family composed of a widow, a son, and several daughters. The rest of the party reached the house, entered it, and commenced the work of death before he arrived. As he approached, a lovely female rushed out of the house and took shelter under the covering of a cellar, but perceiving she was detected, fled from her retreat, pursued by the negro, who, by a few strokes with a broken sword across the head and neck, prostrated her at his feet, and then picked up a fence-rail, and despatched his victim.

These are a few of the calamities, attendant upon slavery, in our country. At the present time, the peaceful citizen, when he lays his head upon his pillow at night, places his pistols near his bed, ready to take alarm at the first idle noise; and mothers, at the thought of Southampton, trembling for their own safety, press more closely to their bosoms, their helpless infants. Is it then surprising that emigrants should stand aloof from slave States, and that many of their own sons, foreseeing the gathering tempest, should flee from it? In the language of one of the speakers, above alluded to, "If the slave population increase as it has for some years past, in the year 1880, less than fifty years hence, there will be in the seven States, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, more than *five millions* of slaves, an amount too appalling for a statesman not to apprehend some danger. I acknowledge I tremble for the fate of my country, at some future day, unless we do something." "What," says another, "will be the result, when every State, which has heretofore afforded the immense drain to your black population, amounting to 85,000 annually, shall have closed her market; when every State south of us shall stand sword in hand, to guard their country against the importation of our slaves into their borders? When the great southwestern world refuses, [as it since then has,] to permit the sale of our slaves there? When this whole redundant population shall be thrown back upon our State, I ask you what will be our fate? Those mountains, amid which our security has been felt, will no longer be secure; our tall forests will fall before the stroke of the slave; our rich soil will be tilled by the hands of slaves, and our free and happy country, will become the home of the slave." Who that knows any thing of slavery in this and in other countries, does not have similar forebodings, and if so, does not feel it to be a national evil? The genius of our government is such, that the peace and prosperity of the whole is invested in a part. Our political interests are embarked together, and together must stand or fall. Like the human frame in its connection, where the decay of one limb, unless restored, endangers all, so the different States are bound together by indissoluble ties. It is in this symmetry and union, we behold so much to excite surprise and astonishment. In this lies the strength, prosperity, and perpetuity of our national glory. Who does not feel that slavery has already interrupted the peace and harmony of this union, and will continue to be a subject of contention, while a vestige remains? If then it be a national, as well as a moral disease, and if the ships of the north—of New England, (as we have seen,) have aided in producing it, why not unite, one and all, in applying the remedy?